



GANDHI'S SOCIALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON EDUCATION

**DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF**

Master of Education

BY

Naseemul Haque Ansari

Exam. Roll No. 3117

82 M. Ed.-9

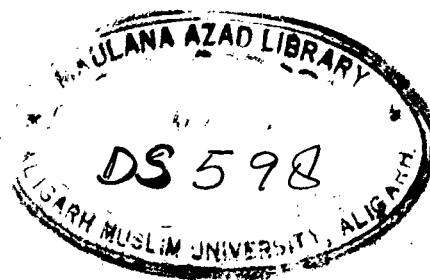
Enrolment No.-P-9708

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

Dr. (Miss) Shakuntala Saxena

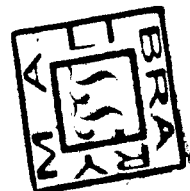
Reader

**DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH
1982-83**



25 MAY 1985

Read in Computer



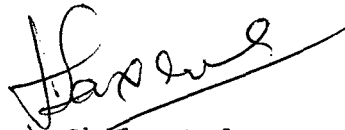
DS598

CHECKED-2002

Signature

C E R T I F I C A T E

Certified that Mr. Naseemul Haque Ansari
has completed his dissertation entitled "Gandhi's
Socialism and Its Impact on Education," under my
supervision and ^{has} submitted ^{sk} for partial fulfilment of
the degree of Master of Education in session 1982-83.


(Dr. (Miss) Shakuntala Saxena)
Supervisor

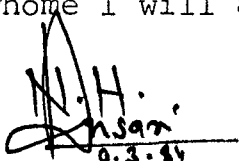
A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

Acknowledging the help made available to me can never repay their labour and love extended to me. Keeping with the tradition I, therefore, extend my profound gratitude to Dr.(Miss) Shakuntala Saxena, Reader, Department of Education, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh without whose unremitting able guidance, sympathetic attitude and deep interest in the study, it would not have been possible for me to complete this dissertation.

My sincere thanks are for Mr. Syed.Md. Noman for his ever available great contribution and making him available all the time for his selfless help.

I am also grateful to Mr. Md. Parvez, Mr. Salman Israiely, Mr. Haseenuddin and Mr. Ejaz Ahmed Khan who provided their full support and cooperation in making the reference books available and thus enabling me to proceed with my work without any impediment.

Besides help also came indirectly from several friends and office bearers to whom I will always be thankful.


NASEEMUL HAQUE ANSARI
82 M.Ed-9

GANDHI'S SOCIALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON EDUCATION

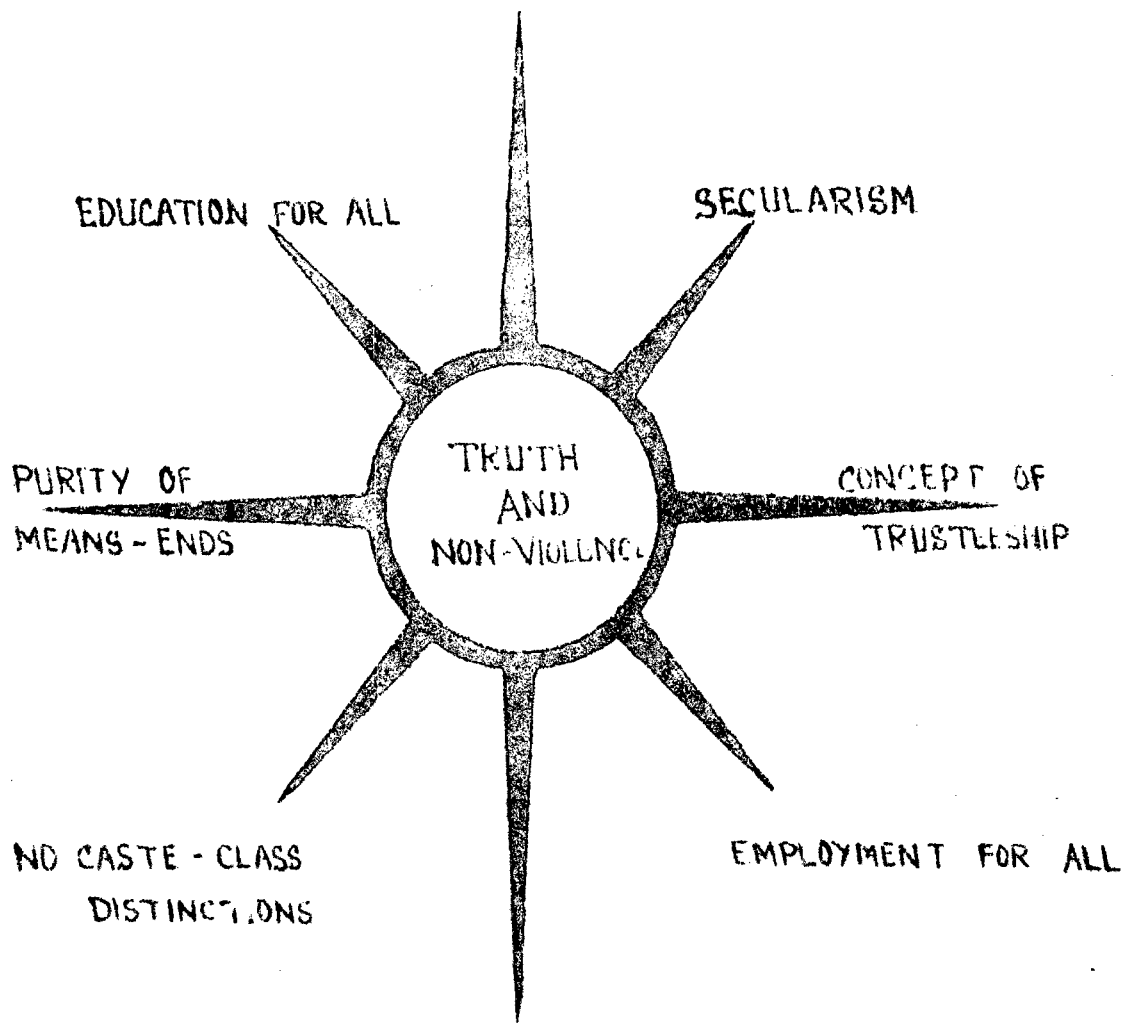
C O N T E N T S

	Pages
INTRODUCTION	1 - 5
<u>CHAPTER : I</u> THE MEANING OF SOCIALISM	6 - 18
MAJOR BRANDS OF SOCIALISM	
1.Utopian Socialism	
2.Communism	
3.Fabianism	
4.Guild Socialism	
5. Democratic Socialism	
<u>CHAPTER : II</u> THE SOCIALIST TRENDS IN INDIA	19 - 23
BEFORE GANDHI	
<u>CHAPTER : III</u> GANDHI'S SOCIALISM	24 - 34
1.Purity of Means and Ends	
2.Trusteeship	
3.Non-Violent non-cooperation	
CHAPTER : IV GANDHI AND MARX	35 - 46
Gandhi's views of life and	
Universe.	
Marx's views of life and Universe.	
Marx and Gandhi-Comparison and contrast.	

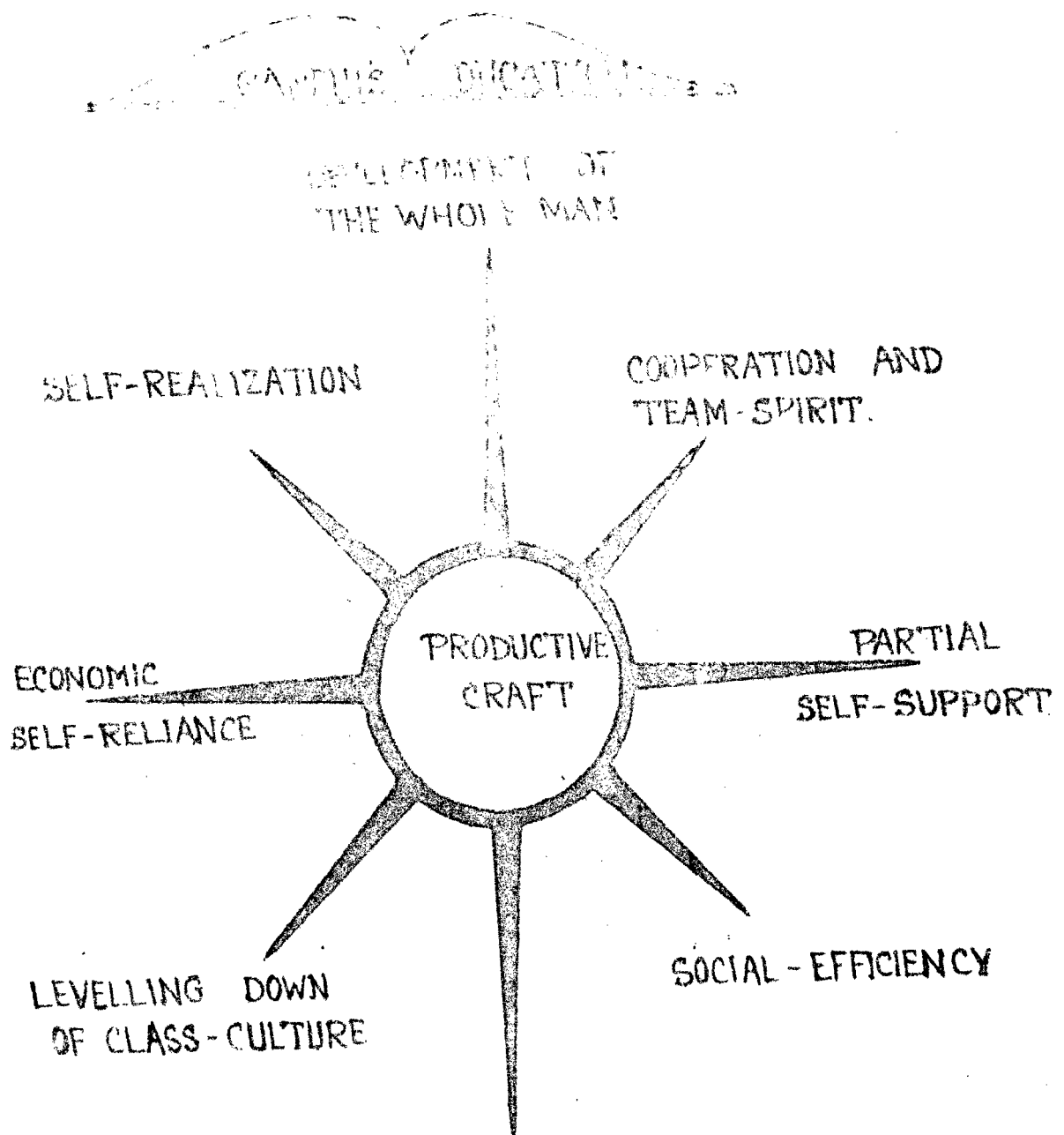
<u>CHAPTER</u> : V	GANDHI'S SOCIALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON HIS SCHEME OF BASIC EDUCATION	47 - 68
	Gandhi-as an Educationist.	
	Salient Features of Gandhi's Scheme of Basic Education.	
	Gandhi's Socialistic Philosophy and Basic Education - A Critical Analysis.	
CHAPTER : VI	GANDHI'S SOCIALISM AND EDUCATION A RESUME.	69 - 77
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	78 - 81

GANDHI'S SOCIALISM

NON-VIOLENT NON-COOPERATION
AGAINST EXPLOITATION



A FAIR AND EQUITABLE
SOCIAL ORDER



EDUCATION OF THE 3-H.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Philosophy and Education have historically been dependant upon and related to each other. While philosophy has been defined as the theory of education in its most general phases, education has been interpreted as the dynamic side of philosophy. These two definitions clearly indicate the fundamental dependence of education and philosophy on each other. In other words it can be said that the plant of education draws its nourishment from the soil of philosophy, and philosophy to get itself activated takes the help of education. If one turns the pages of history one realizes how different philosophies have developed various educational systems suited to the needs and requirements of the time. It is an account of this relationship that Ross has said, "Philosophy and Education are the two sides of the same coin; one is emplied by the other." It means what philosophy suggests, education executes. An educational movement is, therefore, working out of a philosophical system.

An other interesting thing that shows the relationship between education and philosophy is that a person who has a philosophy of life does not generally rest content with merely shaping his own life in the light of that philosophy but he wants others to go the same way. He begins to burn with

missionary zeal, so to speak, and tries to win others to his way of thinking and the only means that he finds functional is that of education. Thus, it can be said that philosophy, while it results in a certain way of life also gives rise to an educative effort. And a philosopher naturally becomes an educationist. Hence we find that most of the great philosophers of the world have also been world's great educationists. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Rousseau are the best and obvious examples. The same is true of Mahatma Gandhi.

Like all the great philosophers and educationists of the world Gandhiji too entertained a philosophy of life which gave rise to unique system of education suited to its ends Gandhiji believed in the absolute oneness of God and therefore of the whole humanity. He wanted to evolve a just and non-violent society where no discrimination would be made on the basis of caste, creed, religion and colour. It was to be an ideal society in which no one would be high or low only because he was born in a high or low family. His ideal society would be marked by equality, fraternity, justice and non-violence. Gandhiji, though so frail in physique, possessed an steel like will in him and stood up as a saviour and emancipator of humanity. He was one of the few saviours who have put the stamp of non-violence on their own and the coming epochs.

His vision of, and his efforts for an equality,

justice and better social order put him at par with the other great socialists of the world. But the basic difference that exists between him and other socialists of the world is that of the means and the ends. This difference has been very beautifully pronounced by Gandhi himself Gandhiji says, "Whilst I have the great admiration for the self denial and the spirit of sacrifice of our socialist friends, I have never concealed the sharp difference between their method and mine. They frankly believe in violence and all that is in its bosom. I believe in non-violence through and through."

Thus according to him socialism is as pure as crystal. It, therefore, requires crystal like means to achieve it. Impure means result in impure ends. Hence the prince and the peasant will not be equalized by cutting the prince's head, not can the process of cutting off equalize the employer and the employee.

Thus, Gandhi's great mission was to revolutionize politics through ethics. His motto was to conquer hate by love, untruth by truth and violence by non-violence. Therefore, Gandhiji believed only truthful, non-violent and pure hearted socialists could be able to establish a socialistic society in India and the world.

The above discussion clearly shows that Gandhi's socialistic ideas and views were deeply influenced by his

moral values and his philosophy of life and the universe. The nucleus of Gandhi's philosophy lies in his faith in the superpower responsible for the creation of the cosmos which is an organic whole. Man according to him could commune with this power provided he divested himself of all selfish desires, lust and violence etc. His idea of non-violence insisted that men in their fight for their rights, whether as individuals or group should never violate their basic obligation of respect to all life. Since man has not the power to create, he has neither the right to destroy the smallest creature that lives.

It is from his philosophy of life and socialism that his concept of education arises. The system of education that he suggested for the Indian society is known as his scheme of Basic Education. The central feature of this scheme is that all elementary for the age group 7-14 years should be geared around a productive handicraft. All other features of Basic Education imitate from this central idea. Thus, by making education craft-entered, the scheme aims the developing in the children the sense of dignity of labour and to bring about the development of the 3 H, viz. Head, hand and heart. This education would not only promote the allround development of the individuals, but also help them become useful and productive members of the society, thus becoming instrumental in the development of a better social order. One and the same

type of elementary education would develop among the children coming from various classes and sections of the population a common code of conduct a common culture which would result in the enhancement of unity in diversity.

As indicated above, this dissertation makes an attempt to work out the relationship between Gandhi's ideas on socialism and on Education. To be able to appreciate Gandhi's socialism, it was an imperative to start with the Meaning and Major Brands of Socialism (Ch.1). Gandhi's own theories and ideas of socialism have been discussed subsequently (Ch.3) and a comparative study of Marx and Gandhi has been briefly made to highlight the differences between Marxian Socialism and Gandhi's Socialism which provides the blue print for Democratic socialism in India, or rather, the nucleus. In a later chapter, effort has been made to show the correspondence between Gandhi's socialism and his educational ideas and schemes. The last chapter is an attempt at summing up this relationship between Gandhi's philosophy of socialism and education.

Last, but not least, this dissertation makes a humble effort to highlight the relevance of Gandhi's Social and educational philosophy for ushering in a better social order in India - a Democratic socialistic society of our dreams.

C H A P T E R I

S O C I A L I S M

Socialism has been so variously defined that no single definition which can be universally accepted, has been advanced yet. Different authors, have defined it in their own terms. Since every author is the product of his age and surroundings, these too have cast their influence upon its definitions. The word 'socialism' was first used in England in 1827 in the Co-operative Magazine, a periodical which expressed the point of view of Robert Owen, (1771-1858), The owner of a factory at Lanark, who became a social reformer, founded the consumers cooperative movement, and advocated the establishment of commonly owned and controlled productive enterprise.

According to Ashok Mehta "Socialism is the science of new society as well as vision of a new civilization. It touches modern knowledge and human experience at so many points that any adequate review of socialism would need much time".¹ Again he says "Socialism needs to be viewed as a house of many mansions. It may be that man will choose different mansions according to their taste and temperament."²

-
1. Mehta, Ashok, Democratic Socialism Bhartiya Bidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963. p. 1.
 2. Mehta, Ashok, Studies in Asian Socialism Bhartiya Bidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1959. p. 35.

The above statement is very similar to the view that the socialism can be compared to a medicine which must change according to the temperament of the patient and the nature of the disease from which he is suffering. These and allied statements refer to the general, all pervasive and changing concepts of socialism, without trying to bring out the basic tenets of socialism, for which one must refer to the more matter of fact definitions.

According to commonly accepted meaning. Socialism is a theory, principles or scheme of social organization which places the means of production and distribution in the hands of community, substituting association for competition".1. It means that all the means of production and distribution should be in the hands of the community and private ownership must be abolished. The conviction behind this definition of so, obvious is that private ownership is at the root of all inequality and maladies of a society and must be done away with, if a new and better social order has to come. Another important aspect of socialism is brought out when it is defined as "a working class doctrine and movement, aiming through the class struggle at the collective control of society, by the capture of the state machine by workers and the establishment of self-government in industry".2

1. Chambers 20th Century Dictionary.

2. The Encyclopaedia of Labour movement. Vol.III, p. 154 .

Socialism thus stands for the collective control of society and emphasises that the control of all industry should be in the hands of workers and not an individual viz. the capitalist. This revolutionary change must come through 'class-struggle as extolled by Marx.

MAJOR BRANDS OF SOCIALISM

Socialism has undergone changes of variegated nature. It has been rightly said : "Varieties of socialism may be classified according to their ideals of justice, their motives, their attitudes toward the state, and their methods of attaining their ideals"¹ This seminal statement about the varieties of socialism has to be fully understood in order to appreciate the basic unity, and the apparent dissimilarities, between the different brands of socialism. Differences are many and often, so acute that one type of socialism may seem the exact apposite of the other, yet the basic philosophy or goal of all, Socialism can be said to be enshrined in the words equality and justice. Any one who really swears by socialism, believes in bringing about an equal fact and better social order. Yet what exactly is one's concept of equality or justice, and two are these to be brought about makes all the difference between one brand of socialism and another.

As the above statement points out, the differences are based on:

1. The Encyclopaedia of social sciences (vol.14) p. 189.

1. Ideals of justice 2. Motivations, 3. Attitude towards state and 4. Methods of attaining the ideals.

Therefore instance, some believe that absolute equality alone can ensure justice social, economic and political where^{as} others believe in potential equality and an equitable distribution of goods and services. For some, the motivation behind their socialistic ideals is religions and moral, where as others consider, socialism a scientific and historical inavitability. To the first group belong Robert Owen, charls Fourier, and Mahatma Gandhi, and to the second Karl Marx and his strict adherents As regard the state, some socialists have a prourable attitude and believe that a scientific society can be brought out with the cooperation of the state through parliamentary means etc. The opposite group believes in the 'withering away' or the total annihilation of the state or the capture of state-machinery by the workers. Its a diffirent matter that even in this last instance-there will still have to be some sort of state anyway ! Methods of attaining the ideals are not the last important either. Where as Marx and his followers believe in the inevitability of class-war and world revolution, thinkers like Gandhi emphasise that means should be as good as the end,^{and} socialism must therefore come through non-violent means-through a change of heart-through legislation etc. With these basic variations in view, it will useful to examine briefly the different currents witnessed in the movement of socialism. The major brands of socialism have

often been classified as follows :

1. Utopian Socialism
2. Communism
3. Fabianism
4. Guild Socialism
5. Democratic Socialism

1. UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

Utopian Socialism is inseparably connected with the names of Saint Simon, Charles Fouries, and Robert Owen, although earlier, the 'Levellers' and the 'Diggers', particularly the latter, did attempt a plan of human equality elimination of private property and communal living and cultivation. The essence of utopian socialism consists in :

(i) Opposition to the commercialism and crude and heastless industrialism which arose after the break down of feudalism and which led to unjust distribution of wealth and property, socio-economic inequalities, exploitation and misery.

(ii) The advocacy that land belongs to all in society.

"The greatness of the utopian socialists lay in their sustained attack on the socio-economic evils of their day and institutions which engendered them."1 By and large, the motive behind this was religious and philanthropic.

1. Jangam, R.T., Principles of Political Science. Somaya Publications Pvt. Ltd. Bombay 1971. p. 179.

2. COMMUNISM

The movement of socialism was strengthened by the adoption of communism, which was propounded by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and the most celebrated collaborator of Marx was Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). Marxian socialism made a break from traditional socialism and was more inclined towards communism which believes in the abolition of private property and appreciates the doctrine of having all property in the hands of the common folk. Communism believes in the well known maxim "From each according to the capacity to each according to his needs" which at later stage came to be modified as "the each according to his merits."

The marxian scientific and revolutionary socialism is based on the following three concepts :

- (i) Materialist or economic interpretation of history.
- (ii) The theory of Class-struggle
- (iii) The theory of surplus value.

(i) The materialistic conception of history is that the chief, the fundamental factor in the development of any nation or any society, is the economic factor, that is the way in which the nation or the society produces and exchanges its commodities. The aim of Karl Marx had been not to discover

origin of the things but the causes of social change and development. He searched for the 'dynamic law of history'. In changing the modes of production mankind changes all its social relations. The famous statement of Karl Marx that the hand mill creates the feudal and the steam mill the capitalist society, is the essence of his economic interpretation of history.

(ii) Marx believed that the part played by the struggle between owner and worker had been fundamentally important in the society of the past 'since the dissolution of private tribal society holding land in common ownership'. Marx believed that without class-struggle there would be no social progress. Thus the class-struggle is a very important method of realizing the ideals of socialism. Marx and Engels believed that world revolution was imminent, and they held violence to be the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one.

(iii) The economic interpretation of history and the class struggle form what are regarded as the sociological bases of the Marxian system. The theory of value on the other hand, constitutes the economic base of Marxian thought. Although all these three tenets are interwoven, many socialists who have accepted the sociological teachings of Marx.

3. FABIANISM

Fabian socialism regarded the transition from capital-

lism to socialism as a gradual process and looked forward to the socialization of industry through peaceful economic and political agencies already at hand.

The prominent leaders of the Fabian society which was founded in England in 1884 were Sydney Webb, Barnard shaw, Sydney Oliver, Graham wall as, Mrs Amrie Besant, Headlam and Pease. "Fabianism nodoubt arose as a reaction to the leissezfair capitalism. But it did not agree with the Marxiam diagnosis of the socio-economic illls or the Marxian prescription for their cure".¹ According to Ashok Mehta : "The Fabian tortoise believed that by its show yet per&isttent movement it would win against the Marxist hare." ².

The Fabianism agree that the capitalist system has produced a number of evils including the evil of exploitation. They also agree that the evil must be ended. But their analysis of the evils and the remedies significantly different. They hold that there is no such thing as historic or economic determinism. The substitute the utility theory of value in place of the theory of surplus value. They contend that the elimination of the evils or the progress of society is not in<vitable or automat This must be striven for and has to be gradual and a total or sudden revolution is not the proper means for the transformation of society.

1. Jangam, R.T., op<osit., p. 187.

2. Mehta, Ashok, op. sit., p. 30

4 GUILD SOCIALISM

Guild socialism sought to combine the best features of syndicalism and state socialism and avoid their disadvantages. It was also intimately related to Fabianism. The exponents of this school were the English intellectuals, prominent among whom were A.J. Penty, S.G. Hobson, A.R. Drage, and G.D.H. Cole and it derived its guidance and truth from the 20th century economics and Sociology. The main aims of the Guild Socialists were "the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of self government in industry through a system of national guilds working in conjunction with the state".¹

According to Cole, " Guild Socialism is based on the idea of partnership between the producers and the state in the control of industry. Guild Socialism recognises that the state is necessary and that a purified parliament is necessary. At the same time guild socialist held that the first need of socialism is the placing of industrial power in the hands of workers, and that without such industrial freedom every change in the structure of society must be abureacratic Sham."²

1. Landler, H.W., History of Socialism. Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. London 1968. p. 322.

2. Mahajan. B.D., Recent Political Thought. Premier publishing Co. Delhi 1953 p. 185.

5 DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Democratic Socialism is a variety of Socialism which aims at the realization of the socialist programme through democratic means. The implication is that realization of the socialist programme is not to involve the employment of violent, revolutionary or dictatorial institutional framework, and that the socialist goals and the democratic means can go together. J.P. Narayan in his 'Democratic Socialism : The Ideal and the Method' (1950), 'The Ideological Problems of Socialism' (1953) and 'New Dynamics of Social Change' (1956)¹ argues that the forces of democracy have gathered ground since Marx developed his theory of revolutionary Socialism; in fact Marx himself had, in his famous address at the Hague (1872), admitted the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in favourable situations.

Socialism is conceived by most socialists a higher form of democracy. Its claim is to provide political democracy with social content, by adding economic and social democracy to political. As such to add the objective "democratic" to socialism seemed superfluous till, as Pradip Bose points out,² the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia in 1917, suppressed all democratic and socialist forces to build a one party communist dictatorship, and the Stalin constitution of 1936 unleashed

-
1. Narayan, J.P. Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy, Edited by Bimla Prasad (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1964) p. 25
 2. Bose, Pradip., Democratic Socialism and Marxism, Samajwadi Prakashans, Calcutta (A book let) p. 41

a reign of terror. Democratic Socialism therefore came historically as a reaction against the communist distortions of socialism.

It derives its sustenance from the thoughts and programmes of a number and variety of socialist thinkers in several countries from the nineteenth century on wards, and during the years its concepts and contents have evolved. Among the most authoritative enunciations of the aims and tasks of democratic socialism is the Frankfurt Declaration of the socialist International which met at Frankfurt, Germany, from 30 June to 3 July, 1951. The principles proclaimed by the Frankfurt Declaration have been summed up in the following 10 points 1 which provide the theoretical basis of democratic socialism :

1. Socialism is an international movement which does not demand a rigid uniformity of approach. All socialist movements basically strive for the same goal a system of social justice, better living, freedom and world peace.

2. Without freedom there can be no socialism. Socialism can be achieved only through democracy. Democracy can be fully realised only through socialism.

Socialism seeks to replace capitalism by a system in which public interest takes precedence over the interests

1. Laidler, H.W., op. cit., p. 865.

of private profit. The immediate economic aims of socialist policy are full employment, higher production, a rising standard of life, social security, and a fair distribution of income and property.

4. Public ownership can take various forms. It is not an end in itself but a means of controlling the basic industries and services on which the economic life and welfare of the community depend, a means of nationalising inefficient industries and preventing private monopolies and cartels from exploiting the public.

5. Trade unions and organisations of producers and consumers are necessary elements in a democratic society.

6. Socialist planning does not mean that all economic decisions rest with the central government. Economic power should be decentralised as far as compatible with the aims of planning.

7. Socialists accept the individual's right to be rewarded according to his efforts, but they believe in using incentives such as "pride in work well done" and a sense of solidarity and team spirit.

8. Socialists strive to abolish all forms and types of legal, economic, and political discrimination.

9. Democratic socialism rejects every form of imperialism. It fights the oppression and exploitation

of all peoples.

10. The struggle for the preservation of peace is inseparably bound up with the struggle for freedom.

In summing up, it has to be remarked that democratic socialism aims at achieving equality, social justice, peace and prosperity for all peoples, not just within a country, but in the wider world around.

C H A P T E R I I

THE SOCIALIST TRENDS IN INDIA, BEFORE GANDHIJI

The philosophy of Socialism is a recent phenomenon. Its roots can be traced in the late 19th and early 20th century. In spite of the fact that humanitarian ideals of love, kindness and human brotherhood can be traced in the Vedas and other scriptures, socialism as a philosophy of social and economic reconstruction has been developed and popularised in India solely due to the impact of the west. If we turn the pages of history we find certain elements of socialism in the writings and thoughts of scholars and the social reformers in India during the Renaissance. In them Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Devendra Nath Thakur and Keshar Chandra Sen are prominent ones. Yet, one must acknowledge that Western thought has totally revolutionalized political trends in India. The conspicuous repurcussions of western impact on Indian political, social and cultural trends, can be seen in the rapid changes in all these directions. This was made possible through the introduction of western education in India and more specially so through several eminent Indians coming into direct and continued with western thought and culture. The idea of socialism made Indian people more aware of the ideals of nationalism, liberalism, justice and equality.

Sri Aurobindo contributed many articles in 1893, under the title 'New lamps for the old'. In these articles he had made bitter remarks on the middle class orientation of the Indian National Congress and advocated for the betterment of the proletariat. Despite the fact that he was in favour of establishing an omnipotent authoritarian state, he accepted socialism as the basis and starting point of any sound government. The socialist objective of equal opportunity in his view was praiseworthy and most desirable for organised a social life. 1

Almost at the same time Dadabhai Naoroji had built up the 'Theory of Economic Foundation of Indian National Movement'. In his view Indian economy was being subjected to a heavy 'drain' which resulted in the exploitation of the country. He deplored the Anti-Indian financial and economic policy of British Rulers. He believed that the economic prosperity of the Indians could be brought about only after checking the disastrous drain of the country's resources. As he writes "...not till this disastrous drain was checked, and till the people of India were restored to their natural rights in their own country was there any hope for the material amelioration of India". 2

The imperialistic policy of England in his view subjected India to a ceaseless process of economic destruction.

2. Dadabhai Naoroji 'Poverty and Un British Rule in India' Swan Sonnenschein & Co. London. 1901, p. 203.

1. Ghosh, Aurobindo., The Ideal of Human Unity.

Plato once said that an oligarchical city is not one city but, it is two cities in one, the city of the rich and the city of the poor. Dadabhai followed in his foot steps and sounded in a similar fashion that "There are two Indians, an India of the few rich and exploiters and the India of the vast exploited millions." 1 Dadabhai was aware of the political and economic sources of international socialism. In a meeting at Harborn town hall he moved a resolution demanding a universal system of the old age pensions. He earnestly advocated the claims of labour to work wages and property.

Lala Lajpat Rai also was a socialist in the broadest sense of the term. He was possibly the first Indian to write about socialism and Bolshevism. After his return from the U.S.A., in the year 1920. Late Lala Rajpat Rai took active part in the popularization of socialist ideas. He was opposed to the addition to the powers of the capitalists and the landlords. He pointed out that the existing constitution of society was wrong and unjust and perhaps even more barbaric than it had been in primitive times. 2 He was almost popular leader of India was for indepedence and he wanted to implement such of the western socialistic ideas, which were valuable for our country. His view was that the labour and the capitalists should meet on equal ground and cooperate for the development of Indianindustires. He became first President of the Indian

1. Ibid. p. 384

2. Rai, Lala Lajpat. 'Indian's will to Freedom, Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1921. pp. 36-37.

Trade Union Congress in 1920. He was ⁱⁿ contact with the international labour organization and urged friendship between Indian labours and the European proletariat. He observed that socialism was the way to solve the problem of inequality in any society. It was obvious that Lala Lajpat Raj was a bitter opponent of capital and imperialism, when he said; "Socialistic even Bolshevistic version of facts was more reliable and more human than the capitalistic version". 1

From the brief historical references given above, it seems quite clear that though in India we owe our present concept of Democratic Socialism mainly to Gandhi and Nehru, the history of socialist thinking had been set in motion much earlier. "Dadabhai Naoroji had attended the 6th Congress of the socialist International at Amsterdam in 1905; Lala Lajpat Rai was a member of the Independent labour Party when in Britain, and Mrs. Annie Besant was among the founding parents of Fabian Socialism". 2 Gandhiji was surely influenced by the socialist thoughts of his predecessors and contemporaries. But he was a great original thinker in his own right, and even in being influenced by others, he must have rejected as much as he accepted of their ways and means of achieving a socialistic society. Gandhiji can perhaps be said to be the last in the line of leaders of the Indian Renaissance. Like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dada Bhai Naoroji, Justice Ranade, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sri Aurobindo, Swami Vivekanand, Sri Pramhansa Yoganand and other

1. Ibid. p. 177.

2. Saxena, S., 'Sociological Perspectives in Indian Education. Ashajanak Publications New Delhi-1975. p.47.

evinent Indians he believed that though Indian had much to learn from western science and Philosophy. She still had a message for her own peoples and for the world. This convection had a lot to do in the evolution of Gandhiji's Socialism as we shall try to see in the next chapter.

C H A P T E R I I I

GANDHIJI'S SOCIALISM

Gandhiji, the father of the nation, was one of the greatest socialists of his time. He was basically a social reformer and wanted to bring about a radical change in the social order of the country. He always fought for the cause of the people of India and struggled for the better part of his life, to get his countrymen freed from the clutches of the British rule. He rose against the subjugation of the Indian people by a handful of Britishers. To set his countrymen free from the oligarchy of foreigners he tried to bring about a revolution in the country. But every revolution, if it has to gain credence needs a dynamic philosophy. Hence to strengthen his revolutionary ideas, he had to have a philosophy which could satisfy the demands of the time. The result is obvious that to give momentum to his movement, he inclined towards socialism. He gave whole hearted support to the ideal of "Liberty, equality and fraternity," which in its womb carried his influential ideas on socialism. However, Gandhiji never preached socialism in any formal manner. As he himself said. "I call myself a socialist. I love the very word, but I will not preach the same socialism as most socialists do".¹

1. Gandhi, M.K., 'My socialism' compiled by R.K. Prabhu. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1959. p. 10

But whatever he said and did go to prove that he was really and basically a socialist. He fought for the cause of the poor and the backward, and tried to raise them from their pitiable state, so much so that they could rank themselves as parallel to other castes and classes. He believed that all men are born equal and therefore they should have equal opportunities to develop their status. With the same idea, he once said "My ideal of a society is that since we are born equal, we have a right to equal opportunity, but all have not the same capacity. It is, in the nature of things, impossible. For instance, all can not have the same height or colour or degree of intelligence, etc. therefore, in the nature of things, some will have ability to earn more and other less. People with talents will have more they will utilize the talents for the purpose. I would allow a man of intellect to earn more, I would not cramp his talent." ¹ Despite the fact that he wanted to reshuffle the whole society, he never, even remotely, accepted violence as a means for ushering in a better social order. His uncompromising adherence to non-violence perhaps raised some controversy about his being a socialist. But, on closer study, it was obvious that Gandhi's socialism was socialism with a religious and moral basis-with an Indian basis-and yet it was socialism in its noblest and purest form. According to Mr. Morarji Desai, Gandhiji was one of the

1. Young India 26. 11. 1931.

greatest socialists of all times and he had advocated the noblest principles of socialism from the early days of his political career.¹

But Mr. Rajagopalchari reacted strongly to such assertions and went to the extent of saying that Gandhiji could not be called a 'socialist'. "What distinguishes socialism," said he "from other doctrines are the place given to compulsion to bring about benefit to people. Socialism is based on the theory that men are not by nature good and so they must be compelled by external law. Only believers in this theory can be classed as socialists for the purpose of differentiation from non-socialist or anti-socialist. In this sense Mahatma was never a socialist." ²

But leaving a part such controversy which seems natural in case of a many faceted personality like the Mahatma's one can not deny the fact that Gandhiji was in essence a socialist and socialism to him, was a noble and sacred thing. He believed that for the achievement of such a sacred and holy thing, impure means should not be used. He was an uncompromising believer in the 'purity of means-ends'. To him instruments like violence and classwar, expropriation, etc. could have nothing to do with socialism.

1. Gadre. Kamla, Indian way to socialism. Vir Publishing House. New Delhi. 1960 p. 20.

2. Satayameva Jayate. p. 463.

SOCIALISM

According to him "is a beautiful word and so far as I am aware, in socialism all members of society are equal none low, none high... This socialism is as pure as crystal. It therefore, requires crystal like means to achieve it. Impure means result in impose end. Hence the prince and the peasant will not be equalled by cutting the prince's head, nor can the process of cutting off equalize the employer and the employed." 1

Thus from the above discussion one can easily deduce that Gandhi's socialism was broadly based the following three tenets :

1. Purity of Means and Ends
2. Trusteeship
3. Non-Violent non-co-operation or passive resistance.

Each one of these tenets bears close examination and put together they present a policy and a programme which can be a source of inspiration to all who stand by democracy and socialism, or rather democratic socialism as we call it :

1. PURITY OF MEANS AND ENDS

It means Gandhiji never wanted to use any impure means for the achieving of a noble cause. In his view, 'only

1. Pyarelal, Mahatma Gandhi The last phase, vol. II, Navjivan Publishing House, 1958. pp. 140-141.

noble means could lead one to worthy ends,^{and} he would not accede to the use of unworthy means to achieve even the noblest end.¹ The means may be linked to a seed, the end to a tree, and there is just the same inviolable correction between the mean and end as there is between the seed and tree. In his view, means and ends are indeed convertible terms, in my philosophy of life, conceived of as the two sides of the same coin"² I do not believe in short violent cuts to success. ... I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest of causes" ³

Gandhiji pointed out the way to the organization of a society founded on truth and non-violence; and he believed that every human being is capable to practising these primary virtues. Society will be harmonious and well-integrated if organized on that basis.⁴

Jayaprakash Narayan echoes the same view. "There were many things Mahatma Gandhi taught us, he says in 'Ends and Means' (1948) 'but the greatest thing he taught us was that means are ends that evil means can never lead good ends and that fair ends' require fair means. Some of us may have been

-
1. Saxena, S., Sociological Perspectives in Indian Education. Ashanaka Publications New Delhi, 1975.p. 48.
 2. Bose N.K., Selection from Gandhi p. 13. Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad, 1948.
 3. Prabhu, R.K., and Rao, U.R., The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi. p. 126 Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1945.
 4. Appadorai, A., op. cit., p. 82.

Sceptical of this truth, but recent world events and events at home have convinced me that nothing but good means will enable us to reach the goal of a good society. 1

2 TRUSTEESHIP

The second cardinal principle of his socialism is that of trusteeship which according to him means that "The wealthy should act as trustees of the extra wealth possessed by them. This superfluous wealth had to be used for the society-the masses - not by way of charity but by putting it all to productive purposes, which alone could alleviate the sufferings of the starving and idle, jobless people" 2 Gandhiji believed in private enterprise and also in planned production. But he would not allow the capitalist and the Zamindar to exploit the workers. He would make them consider themselves trustees of their property. If the capitalists and Zamindars didnot follow this idea, it would be the duty of the workers to fight for their rights with the means of non-violence and non-co^operation. He suggested the remedy of trusteeship to cure the society of the ailment of inequality. He knew that it might not find easy acceptance, and he sounded a note of warning.

1. Narayan, J.P., op. sit, pp. 59-62

2. Saxena, S., op, cit., p. 49

"A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good. I adhere to my doctrine of trusteeship inspite of the ridicule that has been pow~~er~~ed upon it" 1

He had given the warning to the "trustees" of wealth, but what had he to say to the working class ? If the idia of trusteeship did not work and the poor remained crushed, what was to be done ? "In trying to find the solution of this riddle I have lighted on non-violent non-co^operation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in the society". 2 with the optimism so characteristic of him, he added.

"I do not believe that the capitalists and the landlords are all exploiters by an inher~~ent~~ necessity, or that there is a basic or irreconcilable antogay~~n~~ism between their interests and those of the masses. All exploitation is based on co-operation, willing or forced, of the exploited..... What is needed is not the extinction of landlords and capitalis but a transformation of the existing relationship between them and the masses into something heal~~th~~ier and purer." 3

1. Bose, N.K., op. cit. pp. 77-78.

2. Ibid, p. 79

3. Ibid. p. 91

Gandhiji one place confidently said 'My theory of 'trusteeship' is no make shift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It is the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it. That possessors of wealth have not acted upto the theory does not prove its falsity, it proves the weakness of the wealthy. No other theory is compatiabale with non-violente. In the non-violence method the wrong-doer compasses his own end, if he does not Undo the wrong. For either through non-violent non-co-operation he is made to see the error, or he finds himself completely isolated. 1

Gandhi's theory of trusteeship, according to C. Rajagopalachari, is a valuable contribution to social theory The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal need and will act as a trustee for the remainder which will be used for the benefit of society. "As soon as a man looks upon himself as a servant of society, earns for its sake, spends for its benefit, then purtly enters into his earnings and there is Ahinsa in his venture. Moreover, if means minds turn towards this way of life, these will come about a peaceful revolution in society. 2

1. Gandhi, M.K., India of my Deams. Compiled by R.K. Prabhu. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1947 p. 68

2. Harijan. 11.2.33

3 NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION

Gandhiji had never been in favour of violence. He is known the world over for his creed of non-violence or Ahimsa. Even for the achievement of equality in production and distribution and for securing economic justice to the worker, he opted the way of non-violence and stressed on the purity of means. He never suggested that the workers wage a war against the capitalists and the landlords. He was sure that he could 'bring about economic equality through non-violence by converting the people toward his point of view, by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred'. 1

From above discussion his view on production and distribution become quite clear, and categorical. He says, "My ideal is equal distribution, but so far as I can see, it is not to be realised. I therefore work for equitable distribution".2 "I hate privilege and monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me." 3

It is quite evident that Gandhiji wanted to establish a society in which none is low and none is high. To explain this dictum he once used a very beautiful simile and said that ... "in the individual body, the head is not high because

1. Gandhi, M.K. op. cit., p. 28

2. Bose. N.K., op. cit., p. 77

3. Prabhu and Rao, op. cit., p. 11

it is the top of the body, nor are the sole of the feet low, because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of the society. This is socialism." 1

In summing up, it has to be noted that Gandhiji believed in socialism which for him, very naturally, had a religious and ethical basis. But his ideas on socialism, as on non-violence and Satyagraha, were very pragmatic as later events have shown. It is wrong to call him a utopian or a visionary, for he was nearer the masses of his country the proletariat - than perhaps any other leader of similar stature anywhere else. He knew the reality of the situation, and had heard the heart - throbs of the starving millions too clearly to talk vain idealism. To quote him :

"It is good enough to talk of God whilst we are sitting here after a nice breakfast and looking forward to a nicer luncheon, but how I am I to talk of God to the millions who have to go without two meals a day ? To whom God can only appear as bread and butter."2

Gandhi's socialism is thus, pure as a crystal. It is difficult to disagree or find faults with his concepts and ideas even for any great socialist. That his brand of Democratic Socialism influenced all subsequent socialists in India,

1. Gandhi, M. K., op. cit. p. 4

2. Bose, N.K., op. cit., p. 49

including Pandit Nehru, goes without saying. If his ideas have not found fuller implementation in India, the fault lies not with the ideas but perhaps with the weak moral fibre of the Indian nation - the fact that we in India are good theoreticians but poor in putting sound ideas to practice. The same weakness is responsible, partly if not wholly, for the inadequate implementation of his scheme of Basic Education which, however, was inspired by his socialism.

C H A P T E R IVGANDHI AND MARX

What can be more facinating study to a student of Philosophy and Sociology in the present age than that of a comparision between the ideologies of Gandhi, the great soul (mahatma), and Marx, the great thinker (mahamuni) ? If one makes a critical study of the history of the world, he will realise the fact that both Gandhi and Marx can be ranked among the best and the greatest social reformers as well as philosophers of the world. Wielding a facile pen, both Gandhi and Marx have left behind for the world a record of their thoughts, activities and dreams embodied in their propuse writings and profound speeches. History is witness to the fact that the primary concern of both Gandhi and Mark was the emancipation and freedom of the suppressed and the oppressed the resourceless and the ignorant, the dumb and the starving sections of humanity. One can assert with full confidance that the cause of the have nots is the basic sentiment running through the lives and works of both - Karl Marx, and M.K. Gandhi, However even a hasty glance over their ideologies reveals the fact that though both Marx and Gandhi wanted to establish an order, which would make the masses co-sharers in the gifts of nature and fruits of labour and genius,

there is a wide gulf and marked difference between the two. So far as their views of life and universe are concerned, they stand poles apart from each other. And all other differences whether those of ends and means or of ideas about political, social, economic or religious order arise from this basic difference.

From the very beginning philosophers and scientists have been trying to probe into the primary root of the universe. Apparently it seems to be the mixture or combination of innumerable sentient and insentient bodies. How many of wise bodies or their scientifically distinguishable components are primordial in their ultimate analysis ? Are the components several or only two namely life (Spirit) and matter, ? or not even two at best only one, ? If one, which is it - life or matter ? And even if life is accepted as the primordial substance whether there are several independent and eternal individuals, or whether all life is one ? There are various questions which have been creating differences and confusions among the philosophers of the world. It is therefore, near impossible to say whether philosophers and scientists of the world will ever come to a final and unanimous decision on these points. Mashruwala writes, "It would not matter in the least, if there were as many theories about then as the number of thinkers, provided they remained confined to academics as subjects for intellectual treat with no bearing on the problem of life.

But it is not so. Each theory is sought to be applied to the dealings and institutions of man in every day life. And every theory requires a different society and different peoples to be placed in it. The same story may thus come true to these nudely distinguished philosophers and social reformers." 1

GANDHI'S VIEWS OF LIFE AND UNIVERSE

According to Gandhi the basic principle of the universe is life and not matter. Even what we percive as in santient matter has its being in and by life, it has no existence independent of it. At any rate, in the absence of life nore can testify to its existence. The universe rises, exists and disappears in life or spirit which alone is existent and imperishable. Therefore, Gandhiji belived, "Life alone is satya or Truth - the ever abiding principle. All other forms and forces are, so to say, rays or emanations from, it; everyone of them is subject to continuous change and total conversion or resolution from one form into one or more others. And the mystiry of life is that thought every sentient being is always associated with it and is never away from it, it is missed by most beings for the whole of their lives. And this is so to such an extent that its very existence is doubted by many, and even most of those who accept it do so on faith." 2

1. Mashruwala, K.G., Gandhi and Marx. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1951, p. 40

2. Ibid. p. 44

Thus the result which may be derived from the above discussion is that for Gandhiji the whole universe sentient as well as insentient is the manifestation of one life that is God.

MARX'S VIEWS ON LIFE AND UNIVERSE

There is no denying that fact that Marx too is a monobasist like Gandhiji but according to Marx 'the basic principle is inert matter rather than life or, Atma as believed by Gandhi. To the thinking of Marx, there is no evidence for believing that matter has its rise from, existence in, and return to the internal substance called the spirit and that without it the former could not exist. On the contrary, the observed facts of the universe and the history of evolution show that for millions and millions of years life did not exist upon our earth, that out of the billions of heavenly bodies known to Astronomers, it is doubtful if it exists in any form, any where except on earth. Science traces pretty accurately in what form life first appeared on this earth and how it evolved at different stages and got transformed into millions of types of living organisms, from the most simple cell to the hugest animals and trees, until, at last, man its highest development in existence at present, appeared on the scene.

Mashrunwala writes that, according to Marx "on the basis of study of science and history, we can safely assert

that even when life was not, matter was; one can not say with equal confidence that there was life when matter was not. Hence it life which has its birth, sustenance and dissolution in matter and not vice versa". 1

These basic differences in their concept of universe, man, and the Ultimate Reality also naturally colour the views that Marx and Gandhi hold on man, society and socialism, even though very indirectly.

MARX AND GANDHI - COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

High lighting the difference between himself and other communists, Gandhiji once said, "Whilst I have the greatest admiration for the self denial¹ and spirit of sacrifice of our socialist friends, I have never concealed the sharp difference between their method and mine. They frankly believe in violence and all that is in its bosom. I believe in non-violence through and through." 2

Thus an other significant difference that crops up from the above quoted statement is that of the means and ends. In spite of the fact that both Gandhi and Marx wanted to improve the lot of the poor and down trodden and to establish a society

1. Ibid. p. 48

2. Gandhi, M.K., My Socialism. Compiled by R.K. Prabhu., Navajivan Publishing House. Ahmedabad, 1959, p. 49

where no one is low, no one is high on the basis of wealth caste, or creed, their approaches to the achievement^{of} such a society were quite different.

Socialism for Gandhi is "as pure as crystal. It therefore, requires crystal like means to achieve it. Impure means result in an impure end. Hence the prince and the peasant will not be equalized by cutting off the prince's head, nor can the process of cutting off equalize the employer and the employed. One can not reach truth by untruthfulness. Truthful conduct alone can reach truth."¹ And therefore in his views only truthful, non-violent and pure hearted socialists will be able to crystalise his dreams of a socialist society in India and the world.

While Gandhi insisted upon adherence to truth and non-violence for achieving these objectives, Marx did not care about the quality of means, provided they appeared efficient enough for achieving the aims as quickly as possible. He did not give any credence to the purity of means. He wanted to achieve the goals he had set without taking into cognisance the sanctity of the means and ways to be employed not just that, contrary to what Gandhi had to say later on Karl Marx ardently believed in the efficacy of violence' and had predicted a world revolution which alone could usher in the Golden Age

1. Ibid. p. 5

of socialism. To him, "violence is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."

Thus while Gandhiji strictly adhered to the doctrine of purity of means' for achieving such objects as the freedom of mankind, Marx despite his genius, had not even imagined that a just and fair social-order could be brought about through non-violent means obviously, he did not believe in the essential goodness of human nature as Gandhi did. V.V. Giri has very beautifully remarked that "Gandhiji's entire philosophy was based on the fundamental doctrine of truth, non-violence and democracy. 1 Gandhiji, throughout his life, advocated as well as tried for the enhancement of virtue and he believed that life and the welfare of the society depended upon man's character, his moral qualities and his efforts for self - improvement. In the words of Vinobha Bhave Gandhiji believed, "An individual's life is driven under the force of moral nature. The social structure changes its form along with the development of the human character. Hence all lovers of good should concentrate on the development of moral qualities. What we must do is to strengthen our faith in the rules of spiritual and moral discipline such as non-violence, truth, self control contentment, co-operation etc and try to incessantly translate these in our day - today life." 2 In the words of V.V.Giri again

-
1. Giri, V.V., Gandhian Ideals. in B.K. Ahluwalia's Facets of Gandhi (Ed). Indian Academic Publishers New Delhi, 1968. P.23.
 2. Vinoba Bhave, Introduction in Mashruwala's Gandhi and Marx' p. 9.

"the principles which Gandhi so devotedly advocated are not merely theoretical, but can be implemented with profit and advantage in the practical fields of human endeavour for the benefit of one and all." 1

On the contrary, Marxist ideology is just the reverse the above doctrine, The Marxists hold that what you call the development of moral virtues, is a set of phenomena which through they become manifest in the mind, and not however the criteria of the mind, but the result of environment. This mind itself according to communists is the product of its material environment or in other words, it is the product of matter. Mind is not a substance independent of matter. It is just a reflection of the world outside and its image. And an image can not govern the substance, it is the latter which governs the former.

Since Gandhiji believed in building up the moral character of individuals, he puts religion at a high level. According to him religion affects human life in a number of ways. He says there has been no religious movement in the world devoid of moral values, social, economic and political consequences. Hence he believes that a change in the social structure should be brought about consistently with the

1. Giri, V.V., op. cit., p. 23

preservation of eternal values. Faith in virtue must not be allowed to get weak.

But for Marx religion has no place in the construction of classless society. Religion in his view puts hinderance in the way of achieving the goals society has set for itself. It is the opium of the poor. Since he holds that consciousness is derivative of matter, he does not believe in the existence of anything other than the matter. He tries to keep politics free from any spiritual or mystical outlook consequently his moral ideals are based on those material considerations which are the concern of politics. While Gandhiji believes that every religion carries in its womb the moral, social and economic order, for Marx morality is determined by economic considerations. Marx has no faith in the efficiency of brotherly love. If what is wanted is a world in which all men can work together in harmony, helping one another to realize the full human potential in each, then social organization is very necessary. And if the right social organization is to be achieved quickly, then a revolution of the violent type will be required. Thus violence is the really useful and efficacious method according to Marx.

Marx's approach is radical. Morality, according to him, can never be higher than the economic structure of the society. This structure can be erected only with the help of

a struggle based on violence. And violence is morally justified because it can loot and looters and can help in creating the conditions for the 'dictatorship of the proletariat. For bringing about a change in the existing unsatisfactory setup of society, class struggle is therefore a very effective means "Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in the definite system of social economy". 1 And a history of antagonistic class societies is the history of class struggle. The struggle of antagonistic classes is inevitable because of the basic differences in their economic and political positions in society.

Marx believes that without class struggle there could be no social progress. Thus, class struggle is a very important method of realizing the human ideal of socialism. He has said that almost all the new inventions are the results of collisions between the worker and the employer. He says further that after each new strike of any importance, there appeared a new machine. Thus class struggle never goes without its fruit.

Like class-struggle, Revolution also holds a very important place in the thesis of Marx. By revolution, he

1. Lenin, V.I., Selected works Part II p. 224. Moscow. 1951

means a deep upheaval in the political, economic and ideological set up of society. The social revolution is not accidental but is always governed by an inherent social law. Pointing out the causes of social revolution, Marx in his preface to critique of Political Economy says that at a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production. Thus begins an epoch of social revolutions. Marx clearly pointed out that a social revolution does not come at some one's will. For a social revolution definite historical conditions as well as objective and subjective pre-requisites are necessary. "A revolution is impossible without a nationwide crisis." 1 Which effects both the exploited and the exploiters. Socialist revolution is ethically and politically justified because it does away with all exploitations for all time and it starts the era of a classless society which is the dream of Marx.

Thus from the above discussion it becomes quite evident that Marx and Gandhi, in spite of the various similarities, stand wide apart. While Gandhiji may be regarded as the saviour of humanity both on material as well as spiritual grounds, Marx can be termed as the saviour of materialism. The primary concern of Marx's struggle was

1. Ibid. p. 413.

economic and material prosperity of the people. His sole purpose was material progress. As Gandhiji says, "Socialist's one aim is material progress" but "I want freedom for full expression of my personality. I must be free to build a staircase of sirus if I want to". 1

He further goes on to say that under socialism there is no individual freedom. You own nothing, not even your body. This state of things could certainly not be acceptable to Gandhi who had accepted 'non-violence' as the basis ~~crad~~ of life and society. Depriving any one of his freedoms as well as of belongings was to Gandhi a clear all of violence. Besides, Gandhi's concern was the development of the whole man, not just a fair social-order by one means or another. This insistence on the development of the 'whole' man, as well be seen in the next chapter, colours all his ideas on Education - its aims, politics and programmes.

1. Gandhi M.K., op. sit., p. 50

C H A P T E R V

GANDHI'S SOCIALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON HIS SCHEME OF BASIC EDUCATION

Mahatma Gandhi had a versatile personality, having a large number of facts, each brilliant like that of a highly cut diamond which illumines any direction to which it is turned. He was the emancipator, the humanist, the politician, the social reformer and the educationist of his times his personality was a light house which lit up every corner of our national life. He taught us national self respect, and freed us from the intellectual as well as political bondage of the west. He inspired us with a new vision and revolutionize our ways of thinking and doing things. He devoted himself to the service of his fellow beings. In the words of Prof. K.G. Saiyidain : "Whenever any individual or groups suffered in justice or tyranny, he threw himself whole heartedly into the task of bringing them relief and succour." 1 Not only this, but wielding a facile pen he has left behind for the world a record of his thoughts and teachings embodied in his profuse writings and profound utterances. By hint of his revolutionary teachings he has secured a unique place in the galaxy of great teachers and preachers of the world. He has illuminated

1. Saiyidain, K.G. The Educationist. in B.K. Ahluwalia's. Facets of Gandhi. (Ed) Indian Academic publishers, New Delhi, 1968, p. 101

every field of our social and national life, including ofcourse, the field of education, Green was absolutely true when he remembered, "If Perstaloizzi was the starting point of modern education theory and practice in western education, Gandhi's teachings would reveal that he was a starting point of modern education theory and practice in the Eastern. 1

GANDHI AS AN EDUCATIONIST

Like a true educationist, Gandhiji was very much concerned with the training of man's mind and character, with the awakening of his dormant powers, and the cultivation of the artistic and productive capacities latent in his fingers. He simulated and guided the deep spiritual impulse which is present in every human being for rising above his lower self and realizing his unrevealed possibilities. Not only this, he also worked out a method and system of education which might train his countrymen to face the difficulties and responsibilities of life creditably by becoming selfreliant. According to K.G. Saiyidain "Through the formulation of his scheme of Basic Education, he has placed all teachers and educational workers under the deepest debt of gatitude." 2

-
1. Ahluwalia, B.K. Shashi Ahluwalia. (Ed). Facets of Gandhi Indian Academic Publishers New Delhi. 1968 p. 104
 2. Saiyidain. op. sit. p. 103

The educational system the British gave us was defficient in several respects and did not meet the needs of the time. Many people criticized this state of affairs and suggested various amendments and modifications which, however failed to produce tangible or for reaching results, because they did not take a penetrating view of the conditions prevailing during the pre-Independence period and likely to prevail in the post Independence era. But Gandhi had been engaged for several years in the work of social recontruction and his fingers were constantly on the pulse of the nature. He, therefore, realised from the very beginning that without bringing a complete metamorphosis in the education system, it would not be possible for him to crystalise his ideals. As a consequence of this conviction Gandhiji wrote a number of articles in Harijan, discussing and critically analysing the dificiencies of the existing system of education. While doing this, he also certainly formulated his own ideas of a system of universal elementary education that could best answer the needs of the Indian society and people. Thus came his scheme of Basic Education which is a precise and yet clear manifestation of Gandhi's thoughts on education. But before discussing his scheme of Basic Education in detail it seems essential to discuss here his contention that his thought on education from the dynamic side of his philosophy. It becomes a pre-requisite, therefore to discuss

briefly the philosophy of life he entertained, because a philosophy of education is always related to the ideals of life of the proponent.

So far as Gandhi's philosophy of life is concerned, he believed in the absolute oneness of God and therefore of humanity. As he puts it : "what though we have many bodies, we have but one soul. The rays of the sun are many through refraction but they have the same source". 1 Thus he believed that God is the ultimate Reality - "an indefinable mysterious power", that pervades every thing. I feel it though I do not see it. It is this unseen power which makes himself felt and yet finds all proofs, because it is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses. It transcends reason^{but} it is possible to reason out the existence of God to a limited extent. 2 He also believed that "God is love and truth and hence he can be realized only through truth-away of loving characterised by strict discipline of mind, body and spirit. To a godly person like Gandhi, the supreme goal of life, and hence of education, could be none other than that of God-Realization. This, in turn, could be made possible through the fullest development of the individual's personality in a climate of love, truth and non-violence. To him, God-realization and self-realization are one and the same. He, therefore, defined education as "an allround drawing out of the best in the child and man body, mind and spirit. 3 Thus with Gandhi, it is the total personality

1. Young India - 25. 9. 1924

2. Young India - 11.10.1928

3. Harijan 31.7.1937 p. 197

that matters and allround development of the individual is to be the main content of education.

The body, the mind and the spirit form an indivisible whole. There is an intimate relationship existing between them all. Their development can thus proceed side by side. Highest education would only result, when there is right interaction between these three. Gandhiji is very definite about it when he says, "unless development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone will prove to be a poor lopsided affair." 1 Gandhi, therefore, defined education in the following words :

"By education I mean an all round drawing out of the best in child and man, body, mind and spirit".

This insistence on the all round development of the individual, without any mention of 'society' might lead one to the misconception that Gandhi's aim in education was just individualistic. This, however, is far from the truth. He was more aware and awake to the needs of the Indian society than perhaps any other leader of his time. India suffered from hunger, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, and a lack of self-reliance and strong moral character. It was in view of these

1. Ibid. 1.5.1937 p. 104

maladies of the Indian masses that he came upon the scheme of Basic Education, which was wholly a community or society oriented scheme. It was almost impossible that a 'man of the masses' like Gandhi should forget 'Society' while stressing the importance of the 'individual'. Gandhi had thus conceptualised a complete synthesis of the individual and social aims of education, perhaps even without the awareness that he had done so. Gandhi would seem to be in complete agreement with the thesis that.

Thus we can conclude that awakening of social consciousness was very much what Gandhiji desired. It results in social cohesion and produces a sense of co-operation. Education which aims at making a man a better citizen and moulds him to the needs of society possesses a social aim. Social service is its chief outlet. Gandhiji was an apostle of social service. From this standpoint, Gandhi's education does possess a social aim. In an ideal society, in accordance with his view, since we are born equal, we should have equal opportunities to develop and flourish. He, for bringing about equality and unity in diversity suggested that 7 years free and compulsory education should be provided immediately for all the boys and girls in India, that this education should be imparted in the mother tongue and that the centre of instruction should not be the book but some important and suitable basis craft through which children may be engaged in

productive activity and produce article which should be useful and saleable in the market. He was anxious that through the sale of these articles it should be possible to meet teacher's salaries, as, otherwise he was afraid whole programme of educational expansion might be postponed indefinitely on the plea that funds are not available.

Gandhi's educational ideas are deeply influenced by his metaphysical and ethical concepts. The ultimate aim of man's life is the realization of God. Religion and morality are an integral part of the total education of man. The ultimate aim of education is the building of character which in his own words meant 'creation of a pattern of living based on truth and non-violence.' His emphasis on moral development was not at the most of intellectual and physical development. He believed that the development of mind, body and soul goes hand in hand. Manual work was very important in his scheme of education. He not only gave craft an important place in the curriculum but he made it the medium of teaching all other subjects of the curriculum.

SALIENT FEATURES OF GANDHI'S SCHEME OF BASIC EDUCATION

Gandhiji described the fundamentals of Basic Education as follows : 1

1. Harijan. 2-11-1947

1. All education to be true must be self supporting that is to say, in the end it will pay its expenses excepting the capital which will remain intact.

2. In it the cunning of the hand will be utilized even up to the final stage, that is to say, hands of the pupils will be skilfully working at some industry for some period during the day.

3. All education must be imparted through the medium of the provincial language.

4. In this there is no room for giving sectional religions training. Fundamental universal ethics will have full scope.

5. The education, whether it is confined to children or adults, male or female, will find its way to the homes of the pupils.

6. Since millions of students receiving this education will consider themselves as belonging to the whole of India they must learn an inter-provincial language. This common inter-provincial speech can only be Hindustani written in Nagri or Urdu script. Therefore, pupils have to master both the scripts.

Basic Education was formerly known as the Wardha Scheme of Education. This scheme of education outlined at the Wardha Educational Conference and developed and shaped by the Zakir Husain Committee was an event of great importance for other reasons as well. It attempted, for the first time, to relate education to national needs and problems. It visualised education, not from the point of view of a small privileged community, but from the view point of the masses who had been deprived the benefits of education under a system which had been functioning for the last 150 years. It was also important because it was the result of Mahatma Gandhi's thinking which generally did not err on the side of principles. The scheme was based on the four resolutions passed at the Wardha Educational Conference held in October, 1937. These four resolutions which became the fundamental features of the scheme are :

(a) Free and compulsory education be provided from 7 to 14 years of age on a nation wide scale.

(b) Mother-tongue to be the medium of instruction.

(c) Process of education to centre round some form of manual and productive work in the shape of a craft.

(d) Self-supporting to the extent of covering teacher's pay.¹

1. Patel, M.S., The Educational Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1953. p. 95

These four resolutions because the basic for the various other features of Basic Education, as originally conceived by Gandhiji.

1. Education to centre round a basic craft : That Education should be imported through some craft or productive work, which should provide the nucleus of all the other instruction provided in the school, was infact the most original and seminal feature of Basic Education. According to Zakir Husain Committee, "Modern educational thought is practically unanimous in commending the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work. This method is considered to be the most effective approach to the problem of providing an integral all-sided education. 1

This principle of intellectual training and developing the 3 H (head, hand and heart,) in and through a craft is the most fundamental feature of the plan. Its a different matter that in actual practice this also proved most difficult to implement. This teaching of all school subjects through the me medium of a craft was teachnique very unfamiliar to the teachers, and in trying to do so, either the school subjects or the craft suffered for lack of adequate time and attention.

1. Hindustan Talimi Sangh; Educational Reconstruction. Sevagram, (Wardha). p. 120

If this was so, it would result in lowering educational standards, or the products of the craft taught. This perhaps was an important reason why Basic education could not make enough headway. This brings us to the other important feature of Basic Education - viz, its self-supporting aspect.

2. Self-supporting basic of the scheme :- The word self-supporting' has been used in two senses. In the first place, the child after completing his course of education should be able to earn a living for himself. Secondly, education imparted should in itself be self-supporting to an extent that manual productive work of the children would meet the expenses of teachers salaries during the total period of 7 years.

On both these counts, the scheme met a lot of valid and not so valid criticism. It was pointed out by many educational thinkers that this over-stress on the economic self sufficiency of Basic Education would reduce it to the mere apprenticeship of small children at the hands of teachers who may or may not be skilled craftsmen other. It was doubted that the training would make students self-reliant at the age of 14, and it was feared that the 'Craft' may result in more wasteful expenditure instead of meeting the expenses on teacher's salaries, This, therefore, was another stumbling block in the successful implementation of the Basic Scheme.

3. Free and Compulsory Education : The scheme originally provided a course of seven years' free and compulsory education from 7 to 14 years, for all boys and girls. On this point there was little room for any dissent.

4. The Medium of Instruction : The scheme has stressed the point that the mother tongue should have an important place in the curriculum and should replace English as the first language. Besides, it should be the medium of instruction. Gandhiji very aptly said : "The foreign medium has caused a brain-fag, put and undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought, and disable them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land" 1 He further emphasised that language is one of the important cultural institutions which contains all the accumulated wisdom, hopes and aspirations of the people and the educational system can afford to neglect it only at the risk of social collapse. According to the framers of the Basic scheme of education, the mother tongue has utilitarian as well as creative value. It is only the mother-tongue that can bring about precision of thought and clarity of ideas.2

1. Educational Reconstruction p. 30.

2. Patel M. S., op. sit., p, 102.

5. The cult of Non-violence : The scheme is impregnated with Mahatma Gandhi's cardinal creed of non-violence.

According to him, our boys and girls have to become true representatives of our culture and our civilization and of the true genius of our nation. They have to receive a national education. The word 'national', in India, connotes true and non-violence. Thus children will be taught through education, the superiority of non-violence over violence. Western education is based on industrialisation which believes in exploitation and thus in violence.

6. Ideal of Citizenship : In the opinion of the framers of the Wardha Scheme, the ideal of citizenship is very important because in modern India citizenship is destined to become increasingly democratic in the social, political, economic and cultural life of the country.

7. The Idea of a Co-operative Community : The scheme also considers the idea of a co-operative community, in which the motive of social service will dominate all the activities of children during the plastic years of childhood and youth. Even during the period of school education, they will feel that they are directly and personally co-operating in the great experiment of nation building.

Thus from the above discussion it is quite evident that the scheme of Basic Education as enunciated

by Gandhiji is very much in consonance with the ideals of life and society that he always cherished.

GANDHI'S SOCIALISTIC PHILOSOPHY AND BASIC EDUCATION-A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The main purpose of Basic Education was to minimise the difference between the education of the classes and the masses. The existing system, instead of doing that, had widened the gulf. If two parallel but unequal systems of education are allowed to continue side by side, Gandhiji realized, they would aggravate the differences which already existed in the Indian society. They would strengthen social stratification which would stand in the way of social cohesion and would ultimately arrest social progress. The two systems had to be integrated so that villages and cities could contribute their shares in the building up of a cooperative social order in India. Basic education aimed at converting all the schools into basic schools and integrate the two systems into a single national system.

Gandhiji always threw himself whole heartedly for the welfare of the masses. He always stood in support of the suppressed and the oppressed. Whenever any body suffered injustice and tyranny, Gandhiji strived for his emancipation. He throughout his life tried to bridge the gulf between the

rich few and the poor many. Though he wanted to exterminate the social evils, such as untouchability, castism, communism, poverty, unemployment etc, prevailing in the then society, he never wished to take the help of violence. He believed that all social evils could be uprooted through the means of non-violence, truth and justice. He realised that education could prove of immense help and assistance for the propagation of his ideas and the establishment of a just and equal society. He, therefore, very strongly suggested the scheme of Basic Education as the national pattern of universal, free and compulsory education for India. According to him, some socially useful work ought to form the core of education. He visualised a society in which productive was to be accorded the greatest respect. His insistence that Basic Education be craft centered and that the craft be taught in such a way as to make each student productive and self-reliant (if required) after leaving school, brought him very close to the socialistic principle + "Who does not work, neither shall be eat."

The idea of Basic Education is intune with democratic principles of education. For, in the first place, the scheme of Basic Education seeks to provide education for all children in the age group 7 to 14 years. It seeks to uproot illiteracy from the country. Universal, free and compulsory education is considered a strong pillar of democracy, because it would open up for all citizens the avenue of "equal opprtunity" to enrich themselves with cultural wealth. Gandhiji wanted to

establish a society in which all human beings are equal and lead a life of brotherhood and fraternity without having the barriers of caste, creed, colour, religion, wealth and power. Such a society in his view might come into existence only if it was based on the principles of love, non-violence, truth and justice. To incorporate these principles in the system of education, he proposed education of mind, body and spirit. In his craft-centred scheme of education the various subjects of the curriculum as well as the craft were to be learnt in a spirit of co-operation. Dignity of labour and pride in work well done were the other socialistic virtues students would imbibe from the education Gandhiji visualised.

The society Gandhi contemplated is composed of human beings who are bound together by the bonds of 'universal brotherhood, - a society which can be established only through Ahimsa, which implies love for all and hatred for none. In such a society none will be high and no one will be low. Thus the whole social order will be characterised by the principles of equality and justice, which are the hallmarks of socialism . In a social order of this nature, there will be not need of any political power but every one will be his own ruler, He will rule himself in such a way that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. These ideas may sound utopian, but they surely inspired Gandhi's educational scheme through which he

hoped to promote cottage-industries, village-punchayats and a gradual but certain decentralization of political power.

When educated in the true spirit of his scheme of Basic Education, the children would develop, he hoped, into creative and productive members of a democratic socialistic society. Some productive work or craft should be the centre of education, he emphasised. Modern age is characterised by large scale production based on science and technology, so in order to enlarge the productive capacity of the country it was essential that all the people should be properly educated to participate in developing production with adequate knowledge, understanding, and skill, and also taught to share the fruits of collective labour intelligently. The crafts that were suggested to be most suitable were weaving, carpentry and agriculture. These three basic crafts were the most common crafts in India even in ancient days and the same was true of Gandhi's times. It will not be beyond our point to say that in a country like India with nearly 80% of the entire population dependent on agriculture this was also the right thing to be done,

The introduction of craft in the new type of education was sure to go a long way in checking the decay of the Indian villages, in saving them from foreign exploitation and from exploitation by the cities, leaving aside the direct gains it would bring to the children in the shape of making

them self reliant and over flowing with an appreciation of the dignity of labour. Instruction in crafts was not to await literacy. It could be taken up straight away, and the teaching of the 3 R's as well as other school subjects was to be woven around the craft itself.

An other socialistic aspect underlying Basic Education is that it seeks to eradicate and extirpate the undesirable difference existing between the cultural life of the village and the city in our country. The dearth of education has horribly marred the charm and beauty of the villages, and of life in the country-side. Hence, in order to enhance the cultural life of the villages it was indispensable that village folk be provided atleast with the same standard of elementary education as those living in the city. Thus, through Basic Education Gandhiji aimed at levelling down the undesirable differences in the cultural life of the village and the city. Some differences were inevitable, as can be seen in any country and society, but common elementary education could at least provide a common link.

A vast country like India can not possibly have arigid uniform pattern of education through out her length and breadth. It is neither possible, nor desirable in a country wedded to democracy as well as socialism, and in view of the very sound educational principle of 'community-orientation'. But if Indian

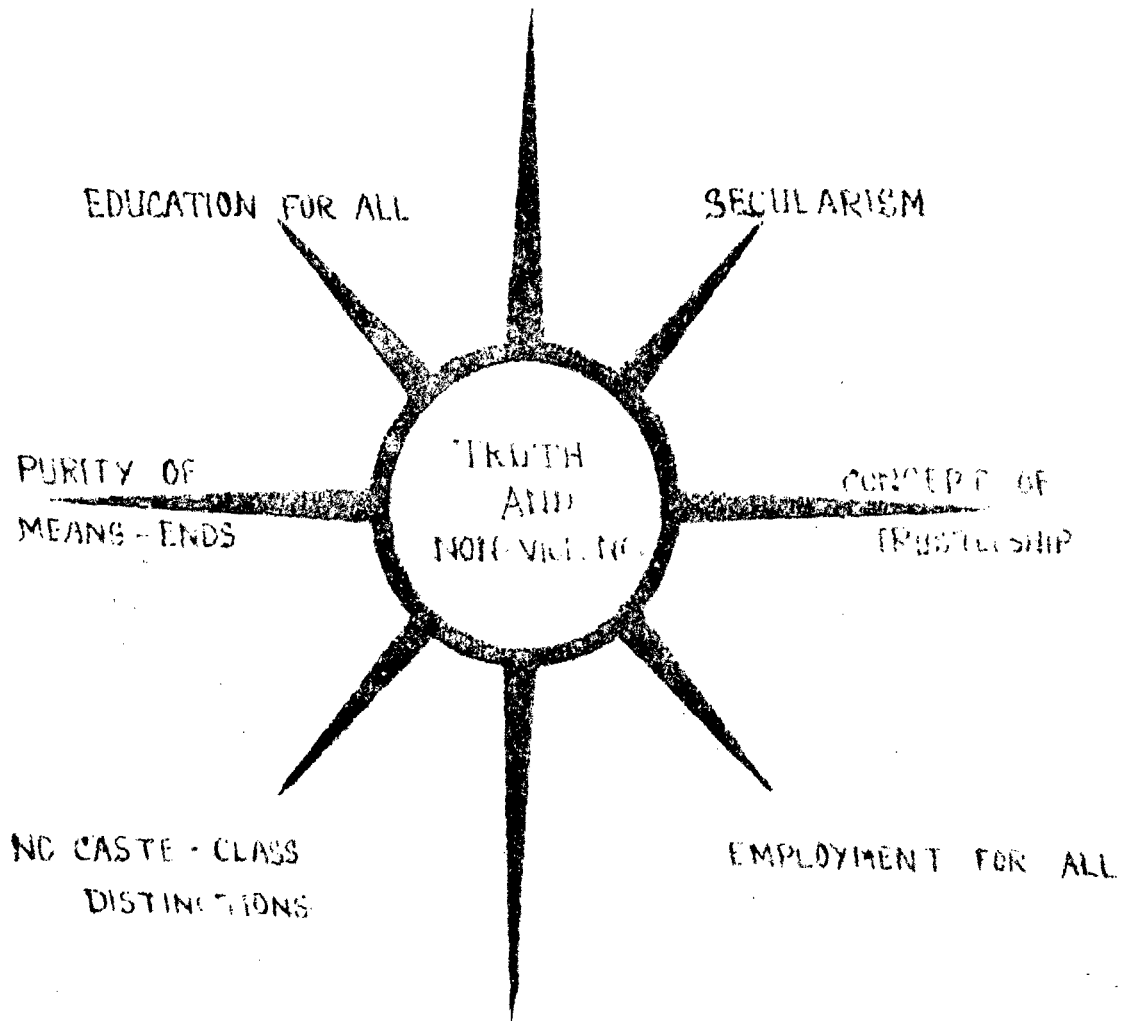
was to emerge as a strong nation, we had to have an educational system which would provide full opportunity of growth to every child whatever his social or economic status. A democratic socialistic social order could afford to perpetuate altogether separate systems of education for rural and urban peoples.

Thus, it can be clearly seen that Gandhi's educational ideas are deeply influenced by his metaphysical concepts and his own socialism, of which he was a living example. His educational ideas appear to be in line with the best educational thought of the East and the West, with a certain originality, and emphases which are entirely Gandhian. The goal of education as 'self-realization' formulated by Gandhiji is quite in tune with the Indian culture, Indian mind and Indian traditions. Basic Education, which it was hoped, would be accepted by the country as the future pattern of universal elementary education in India, was hailed by many intellectuals as being a sound scheme, possessed of rich educational potentialities. It is a different matter that Basic Education, as conceived by Gandhiji, could never be adopted as a national system in India. The reasons are fairly well-known, and have been discussed in various forms at different times. But the fact remains that his philosophy of education, as of life, has influenced all subsequent thinking in education in India and abroad. Economic self-sufficiency of Education has not been achieved anywhere neither in whole nor partially. But the importance of making

'productive work' the core of all basic education has certainly been accepted by all its system of elementary education that which is most valid in his scheme of Basic Education.

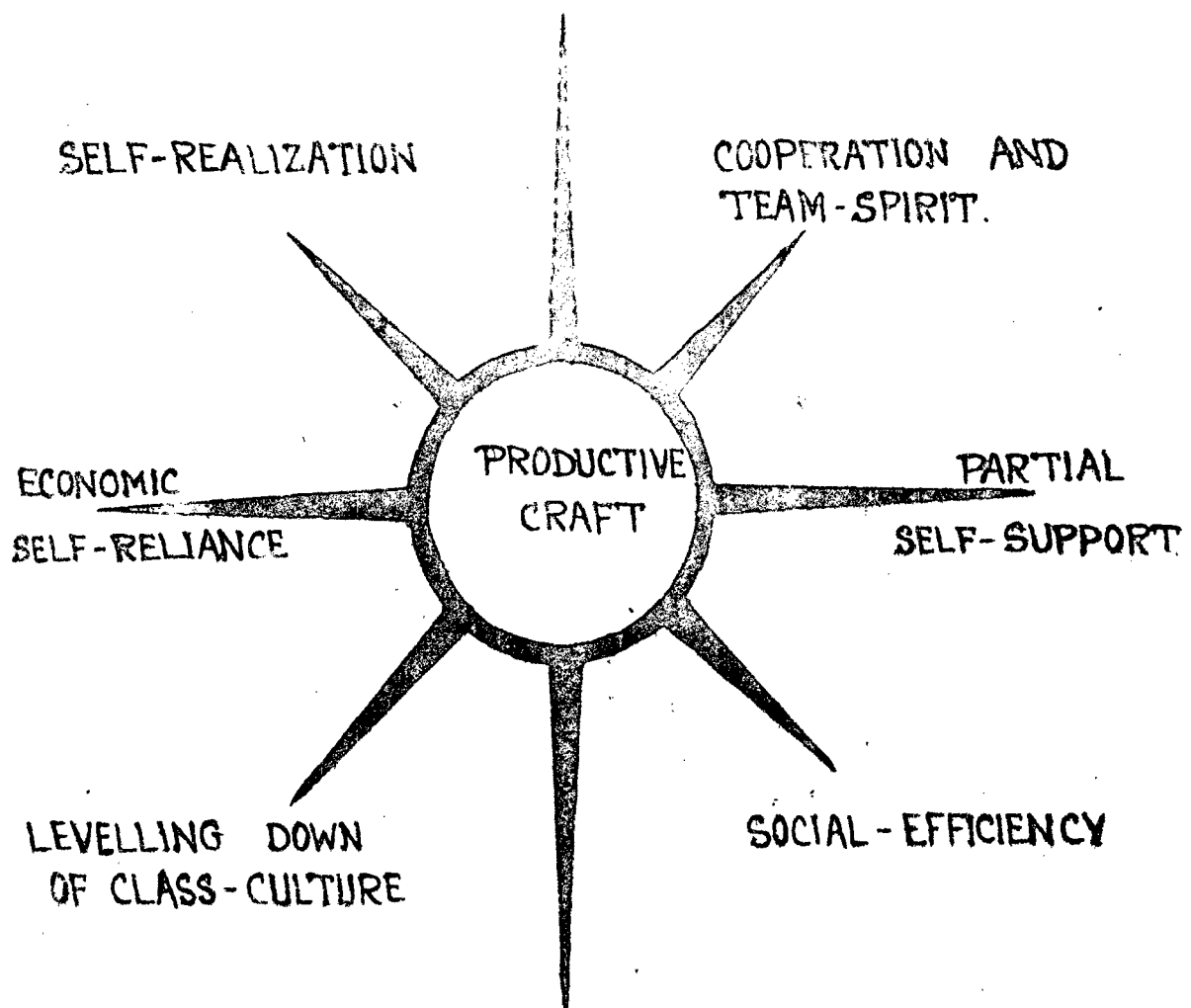
GANDHI'S SOCIALISM

NON-VIOLENT NON-COOPERATION
AGAINST EXPLOITATION



GANDHI'S EDUCATION

DEVELOPMENT OF
THE WHOLE MAN



EDUCATION OF THE 3-H.

C H A P T E R - VI

GANDHI'S SOCIALISM AND EDUCATION-A RESUME

One could assert without the fear of contradiction that "He who learns the rules of wisdom without conforming to them in his life, is like a man who laboured in his fields, but did not sow". Gandhiji for one, could never be accused of having propounded any 'rules of wisdom' which he did not practice in his own life, and did not try to concretise in the life of the nation. It was quite in tune with this attitude of seeking a matrimony between theory and practice that he chose for his autobiography the title "My Experiments with Truth". He sought 'Truth' - 'Truth' in its most comprehensive sense and he made his whole life a virtual experiment with Truth.

What is true of his other ~~cruds~~ convictions, is true also of his philosophy of Democratic Socialism, which was to influence all subsequent socialistic thought in India including that of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. Gandhiji never sat down to write any treatise on socialism, nor did he make special efforts to preach or propogate his ideas on the type of socialism he thought most suited for India. Yet, having the "many splendoured" personality and thinking that he had,

it was impossible that he should not have had his own ideas and theories about socialism, and the type of social-order he should desire to usher in once India won her Freedom from foreign rule.

Gandhiji's ideas and utterances on socialism which are spread over at least a couple of leaders in his various writings, speeches, discussions question-answer sessions, still make a coherent whole and provide as complete a blueprint for socialism with an Indian basis as could be possible under the circumstances. This, Gandhi's theory of socialism, has been briefly analysed and examined in chapter III of this dissertation. Subsequently an effort has been made to work out the relationship between Gandhi's socialism and his thoughts on education, particularly as embodied in his scheme of Basic Education. It is proposed now to give here a résumé of Gandhi's theory of socialism and its implications for, and impact on education. Here again it was to be pointed out at the very outset that Gandhiji never deliberately sat down to work out a scheme of education that would correspond with his philosophy of life and his theory of socialism. But, the contention of this dissertation is that some such 'correspondence' or relationship between Gandhi's Socialism and his scheme of education was inevitable, and an effort has hence been made here to bring out this relationship.

That 'Education' is the dynamic side of 'Philosophy' may sound a platitude but it is nevertheless a most concise description of the relation between philosophy and education. And as John Dewey said in his educational treatise 'Democracy and Education'!

"Whenever philosophy has been taken seriously, it has always been assumed that it signified achieving a wisdom that would influence the conduct of life" Gandhi's philosophy of life and socialism did not merely influence the 'conduct of life' it became his life. He lived the socialism of his conviction, and quite naturally like any other great philosopher he enunciated a scheme of education through which this socialism would become a part of the lives of his countrymen and of the Indian society at large.

The basic motives of all socialist movements, in so far as they are Socialistic, are equality and justice. Socialism believes in ushering in a just and fair social order. To Gandhi - "Socialism is a beautiful word...In Socialism all members of society are equal, none low, none high." It was essential therefore to adopt a national system of universal elementary education which would level down the existing social - stratification and be instrumental in building an equal society. His scheme of Basic Education came in answer to this need. If all children of the age group 7-14 went

through the same 'craft-centered' elementary education before diversification started at the secondary level, socio-cultural differences would gradually get levelled down and a sound basis laid for the emergence of an equal society. The Basic Motive of Basic Education thus, was not merely making education self-supporting, but laying the foundations of a just and equitable social order.

The Basic Tenents of Gandhiji's Democratic Socialism have been discussed in Chapter III and the impact of his socialist philosophy on education worked out in Chapter V. The diagram attached here sums up both and shows clearly and succinetly the correspondence between Gandhi's Socialism and Education.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GANDHI'S SOCIALISM AND EDUCATION

At the centre of Gandhi's philosophy were Truth and Non-violence, the end and means of all human existence. A productive and creative activity as the starting point and centre of all education was to Gandhi a first step in the right direction. It would stimulate the creative instincts in the child, teach him 'joy in work well done' and with right direction, lead him towards self-realization and search of Truth. The way for the achievement of this goal could only be the way of non-violence.

Practicing a productive craft at school would inevitably involve cooperation and the development of team-spirit. Cooperation does not completely displace competition in Basic Education, nor does it is a Democratic-Socialistic society, and children could be helped to see, the benefits of both, cooperation and team-spirit learnt at school would lay a sound foundation for corporate life in a socialist society.

A universal-system of Elementary Education implies that the derogatory distinction between Schools for the classes and Schools for the masses was gradually to be eliminated. It is true that equal education can not be provided in an unequal society, but Gandhiji was convinced that the reverse also was true, viz, that unequal education could never help to build an equal society. Hence, his insistence that every child in India receive a common basic education, learn some common culture, dignity of labour, and brotherhood. The similarity between what Gandhiji suggested in the 1930's, and the Kothari commission in the 1960's, by way of 'Common School', is so striking to be missed by any body. Basic-Education would thus help in levelling-down class - culture, in annihilating class and caste-distinctions, in reducing social-stratification, and prove a potent instrument of building a just and equitable social order a society based on 'achievement status' instead of 'ascribed status'. This would be the Socialist society of Gandhi's dreams. A very Godly man

himself, he was absolutely free from any religions dogmatism and knew that a country like India where many religions were born and nourished, could only exist and develop as a secularism is in complete consonance with the philosophy of socialism as well as Democracy. And a Basic School where children of all religions and belief would study and work together and get some common religions and moral instruction would certainly sow the seeds secularism.

The hope that Craft cuntered Basic Education could make children economically self reliant, if required, at the age of 14, and that it could at least partially meet the cost of education, was not stared by many education thinkers even in the heyday of Basic Education, and it proved a stumbling block to some extent. But, what we are examining here is not the causes why Basic Education did not succeed, but rather its valiadity as an instrument of socialism. Gandhi knew better then we concede than India, with its staggering poverty could not even afford elementary education of 7 years' duration for all her children unless this education was made to meet at least part of its expenditure. There was another reason too. The spectre of unemployment in a under developed economy loomed large in the times of Gandhi, as it does ever now in spite of our subsequent economic and industrial development. If every young person had to find some means of employment, what better guarantee could there be but a system of elemantry

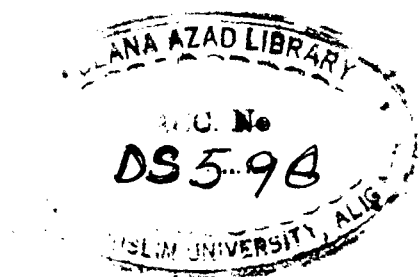
education that would give him adequate skill in at least one craft by means of which he would earn his living, if he so chose ? Without insistence on self-support, the learning of a craft could degenerate into waste-ful activity and enhance the cost of education which India could ill-offord. The socialist objectives of education and employment for all could thus be achived only through a system of education that Gandhi envisaged. The need for some productive work, community orientation etc. in education has been emphasised by all commissions and committees on education in India, which bears out the validity of Gandhi's ideas on education. If we donot yet have a socialist society of his dreams, the reasons partly is that we did not succeed in materialising the spirit of Basic Education.

Gandhiji is firmly believed in an integral education that would bring out "the best in child and mam ; body, mind and spirit." To him, literacy was not the end of education, nor even the beginning. He insisted on Education of the 3 H; Hand, heart and head - the goal being the development of the whole man. It deseves to be pointed out the Karl Marx too cherished the development of the whole man, but to him this seemed possible only when Capitalism was annihilated and the worker became co-sharer of the capital and the fruits of production. Gandhi's concept is metaphysical where as that of Karl Marx is purdy economic.

Yet, which emphasising the seemingly Individual aims of 'development of the whole man' or self realization', Gandhiji was never for a moment oblivious of the society and her claims on education. In fact, he was such an ardent believer in the efficacy of social-service and social-efficiency that was never for a moment oblivious of the need of developing the 'social' side of the student. As seen earlier in this chapter, the whole scheme of Basic Education with its insistence on a productive-craft was society oriented. The total development of personality, to him, was inconceivable without the development of social-efficiency. Thus, in his scheme of education one finds a happy synthesis between the individual and social aims of education-which alone could be acceptable to a democratic-socialistic philosophy of life. Ross has rightly pointed out that individuality is of no value and personality is a meaningless term apart from the society in which they are developed and made manifest, Gandhiji would seem to be in complete agreement with this viewpoint.

It seems in the fitness of things to end this thesis on Gandhi's socialism and Education by pointing out, as certainly many other thinkers have done before, that if in India Gandhi's views have not found adequate acceptance and implementation, the fault lies not perhaps in his theories but in our ability to rightly interpret them-to sift the wheat

from the chaff-and our efforts in implementing any good idea. It is for this reason, this weakness in our national character, that we say many good things in Politics as in Education - but neverfully but them into practice. It is high time that the nation re-assessed the relevance of Gandhi to India and to the world.



B I B L I O G R A P H YA ! B O O K S

1. APPADORAI, A., Indian Political Thinking in the Twentieth Century from Naoroji to Nehru. Oxford University Press, Faraday House Calcutta. 1971
2. BOSE, N.K., Selection from Gandhi Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1948.
3. GANDHI, M.K., My Socialism. Compiled by R.K. Prabhu. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1959.
4. GANDHI, M.K., INDIAL of My Dreams. Compiled by R.K. Prabhu. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1947.
5. GANDHI, M.K., All Men Are Brother. Compiled and Edited by Krishna Kriplani. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960.
6. GIRI, V.V. Gandhian Ideals in B.K. Ahluwali's Facets of Gandhi (Ed). Indian Academic Publishers New Delhi, 1968.

7. GADRE, KAMALA., Indian Way to Socialism.
Vir Publishing House, New Delhi, 1960
8. GHOSH, AUROBINDO. The Ideal of Human Unity
Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pandicherry, 1950
9. HINDUSTAN TALIMI SANGH :
Educational Reconstruction. Siwagram
(Wardha) 1949.
10. JANGAM, R.T., Principles of Political Science.
Somaya Publications Pvt., Ltd, Bombay,
1971.
11. LENIN, V.I., Selected Works. Part II.
Mascow, 1951
12. LAIDLER, H.W., History of Socialism.
Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. London.
1968.
13. Mashruwala, K.G., Gandhi and Marx.
Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad,
1951.
14. MEHTA, ASHOK., Studies in Asian Socialism.
Bhartiya Bidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1959
15. MEHTA, ASHOK., Democratic Socialism.
Bhartiya Bidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963.

16. MAHAJAN, B.D., Recent Political Thoughts.
Premier Publishing Co, Delhi, 1953.
17. NAOROJI, DADABHAI., Poverty and Unbritish Rule in India
Swan Sonrenscheln and Co,. London, 1901.
18. NARAYAN ,J.P., Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy.
Bimla Prasad, (Ed). Asian Publishing
House, Bombay, 1964.
19. Pyarelal., Mahatma Gandhi the last Phase. Vol,II
Navajivan Publishing House, 1958.
20. Prabhu, R.K., and Rao, U.R., The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi.
Oxford University Press London, 1945.
21. PATEL, M.S., The Educational Philosophy of Mahatma
Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House,
Ahmedabad, 1953.
22. Rai, Lala Lajpat., India's Will to Freedom.
Ganesh and Co. Madras, 1921.
23. SAXENA, SHAKUNTALA., Sociological Perspective In Indian
Education. Ashajanak Publications, New-
Delhi, 1975.
24. SAIYIDAN, K.G., The Educationist in B.K. Ahluwalia's
Facts of Gandhi. (Ed). Indian Academic
Publishers, New Delhi, 1968.

B - E N C Y C L O P A E D I A

1. Seligan, E.R. A. and Johnson, A.,
Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol.14,
The Mac Milian Co, New York, 1959.
2. The Encyclopaedia of Labour Movement, Vol. III.
3. Chambers of 20th Century Dictionary.

C - J O U R N A L S

1. Harijan.
2. Satyameva Jayate.
3. Young India.